

A TRUE  
NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
Murders, Cruelties and Oppressions,  
Perpetrated on the  
PROTESTANTS  
IN  
IRELAND,

BY THE  
Late King JAMES's Agents,  
since his Arrival there.

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Published for the Information of the *Jacobites*, that Endeavour his Return again.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Black Bull*  
in the *Old-Baily*. 1690.

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Right Reverend Father in God,

GILBERT,

Lord BISHOP of

SARUM.

My Lord,

**T**Hough the Great and Eminent Services your Lordship has done for the Protestant Religion in general, but more particularly for the Church of England, do justly entitle you to the highest Acknowledgments that can be made you by the most Famous and Excellent Writers of the Age; yet I perswade my self your Lordship will not take it ill, that I offer you so inconsiderable a Trifle as the following Paper, but rather make a candid and favourable Interpretation of it, since it was written out of an hearty Zeal to serve that Church and Cause, for which your Lordship has so often both at home and abroad exposed your Life and Fortune to the Malice of those implacable Bigots, who forced you from your Station and your Countrey: 'Twas your only Crime, that you moved too regularly and actively, and shone too bright in your proper Orb for the obscure and hellish Designs of those

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

~~whose sole study and intentions were to overwhelm these Nations in Clouds and thick darkness.~~

~~But these were but the Instruments of God in removing you from these Kingdoms: for he undoubtedly had a secret hand, and a further end in your Banishment: That is, he pitch'd upon you as the Prophet that should go and anoint him a King and a Queen that should Govern and Preserve and Rule his People after his own heart: and that having so done, you should return in an higher degree of Glory and Splendor than before. Not that your Greatness can add any thing to your Native Excellence, though it may illustrate and make it more conspicuous; as Jewels in the Crown are more prized and admired than if they were in the possession of any private Person.~~

My Lord,  
If I should begin now into a Panegyrick upon, or an Enumeration of the many Great and Excellent Services your Lordship has done for this Church and Nation, besides your being a Great and Happy Instrument (as all men believe) in our present Deliverance; and the late Great Revolution of Affairs, in which the Divine Providence is so very visible, that the Running Eye may read it; and it would be an high degree of Blindness and Infidelity not to ascribe it to a more than Humane Power; I should both swell this Epistle beyond the bulk of a Dedication, and render it not altogether so fit to be presented to your Lordships own hand. Wherefore I shall only beg leave of your Lordship, that my Mite may pass into that Treasury where you have cast so many Talents, with your Name in the Front of it. This will undoubtedly make it the more current, tho it has too much allay in it to be thought in any degree like your own. It wants that Spirit, and Strength, and Clearness which all the world allows to shine in your Lordships Writings, and has nothing to pretend to but the sincere, and honest Intentions of its Author.

'Tis



## The Epistle Dedicatory.

'Tis a plain Account of those Acts which were used for the Destruction of the Protestants of Ireland, and of those Sufferings in which I have ~~been~~ <sup>been</sup> myself a ~~Share~~ <sup>Share</sup>, and which many of my nearest Relations and dearest Friends do at this day groan, tho (I hope) not ~~under~~ <sup>under</sup>. And tho I can neither consider, nor write of these things without Trouble and Concernment, yet I rather chuse to spend some melancholly Hours, than be wanting in any thing in which I apprehend my self capable of doing Service to the Publick, which is my End in this Undertaking, that they who have had so Signal a Deliverance from the Evils which their poor Brethren do labour under, may be effectually sensible both of their own Happiness, and their Friends Misery, and be both thankful to God for the one, and unite themselves against the Publick Enemy, whose notorious and open Endeavours are to bring them under the other; nay, under greater Calamity and Slavery than their Friends already endure, or it is possible for them to imagine.

If this Paper do prove Instrumental to these Purposes, in being any way serviceable to their Most Sacred Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, and the Publick, and meet with a kind Reception from your Lordship, 'twill answer the Ends proposed by,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Dutiful,

and most Humble Servant.

**Books Printed for D. Newman.**

**T**HE Murmurers. A Poem.  
The History of Self-Defence, in Requit to the History of Passive Obedience.

Reasons why the Parliament of *Scotland* cannot comply with the late *K. James's* Proclamation, sent lately to that Kingdom, and prosecuted by the late Viscount *Dundee*: Containing an Answer to every Paragraph of the said Proclamation; and vindicating the said Parliament their present Proceedings against him.

An Answer to the late King *James's* Declaration to all his pretended Subjects in the Kingdom of *England*, Dated at *Dublin-Castle*, May 8. 1689. Ordered by a Vote of the Right Honourable the House of Commons, to be burnt by the Common-Hangman.

*Joannis Georgii Grævii Oratio de Auspicatissima Expeditione Britannica. Cum Potentissimus & Invictissimus Guilielmus Arausioensis Princeps, Angliæ, Galliæ & Hiberniæ Rex inauguraretur, die 11 Aprilis, Auctoritate Præpotentium & Illustrium Ordinum Trajectinæ Diœceseos. Habita-  
cl. cl. cl. Lxxxix.*

Your Lordships most Obedient

**A**LL Kingdoms (except that which is everlasting, where the Almighty and Immutable Governour presides, and keeps all peaceable and happy) are subject to their several Changes and Alterations: But among them all there is none more unfortunate in this respect than that unhappy Island of Ireland; it being no less a true than common Observation, *That once, at least, in Forty years there breaks forth there some cruel and bloody Rebellion, to the subversion of all Law and Government, the unravelling and confusion of Settlement, and the destruction and ruine of many thousands of its Inhabitants.*

How good the Observation holds, I need not now relate, since almost every one knows, that not full Forty years ago that Kingdom lay depopulated and ruined, to that degree, that scarce any thing but the bloody Traces and Characters of War, the sad Monuments of Death, and the Rubbish of Cities, Towns and Castles was to be seen through the whole Island; in many parts of which one might travel several Miles without the sight either of Men, or Beasts, or Houses. Nor was that Depopulation caused by that long and tedious War only (for that did not seem sufficient to execute the Vengeance of God on that Nation), but his other Two great Judgments, the Pestilence and Famine began to rage before the War was compleatly ended, or the Kingdom settled; so high and provoking were the sins of that Blood-thirsty and cruel people.

But there have been already so many Accounts of that notorious Rebellion, published and exposed to the World, by more Learned and Experienced Persons, that I shall not again rake up those Dung-hills which already sufficiently stink in the Nostrils of all good men. Tho' those inhumane proceedings are at this day celebrated by the Off-spring of the bloody Actors of those horrid Villanies, as meritorious and Heroick Actions, their sole concernment and trouble being for the unsuccessfulness of the barbarous undertakings of their Fore-fathers.

My purpose here is to give the World a short View of the Proceedings of the Papists of that Kingdom, and the great Sufferings of

of the poor Protestants under the late King *James*, from the beginning of his Reign, as near as I can, down to this day, that they who have not felt the smart of them, may yet have some sense of it, and put their helping hands; to prevent their own falling under the like for ever; which doth indeed not a little depend upon their behaviour in the present juncture of Affairs. In doing of which, I shall relate nothing but what I either was my self an Eye and an Ear-witness to, or what I had from Persons whose Honesty and Integrity may be relied upon: Or if I give an Account of anything for which I have no such Authority, I shall relate it as such, and leave every man to his own liberty, how far he will credit it.

Notwithstanding that great Desolation caused by that tedious and bloody Rebellion begun in the Year 41, this Kingdom, by the long and uninterrupted Peace it enjoy'd under K. *Charles the Second*, the Natural Fertility of the Countrey, the Recruits of Men and Cattle, and Corn from *England, Wales and Scotland*, together with what remained unconsumed in the Land, and the Return of many of the Natives of the Countrey from *France, Spain, Italy, &c.* became one of the most populous, and plentiful and happy Islands in the World; both the Smell and the View of it were like those of a field which the Lord had blessed. The Protestant Religion began to flourish there in an high degree, particularly that of the Church of *England*, which was our exact Pattern both in our Articles, Litany and Ceremonies: We had not only a Form of sound Doctrine, but all things were done decently and in order: Learning was advanced to such a pitch as was never known there in any Age, and as to our Laws and Government, we were the same happy People as they were in *England*: for all Affairs were managed with the same Equality and Indifference towards all manner of persons: So that the very Papists could not complain of an unequal distribution of Justice: The Countrey in every respect began to be extremely improved, the Cities and Towns to be mightily enlarged, and much of the Land to be enclosed through the whole Kingdom, which began in most places to be adorned with new Seats and Buildings: Trade flourished exceedingly, and the Riches of the World flow'd, to our doors: And if I should tell of the great Plenty of that place, it would seem to some people incredible. In a word, there was nothing wanting to satisfy either Nature or Luxury, but a general prosperity was visible through the whole Kingdom: and yet were things but in their growth or progress to perfection.



But God in the height of our prosperity had a controversie to us, and when we had the least apprehensions of being moved, or having our happiness eclipsed, call'd away our Gracious K. *Charles the 2d.* Then immediately began our sick State to pine and languish: For no sooner had his Successor the late K. *James* ascended the Throne, but notwithstanding his repeated promises of preserving the Church, and governing by the Laws of the Land, and the more sacred tie of a Coronation Oath, we found a very sensible alteration, and did easily perceive the difference between a Prince who wanted a hearty desire that we should enjoy the benefit of those Laws he declared for: and one whose intentions for our advantage and happiness had been hearty and real. The publick discouragements which were put upon the Protestants in general, gave us too clear a prospect of the hardships which in a small process of time we were to fall under; for tho we had a Protestant and a Good Man placed over us as our Lord Lieutenant, who would heartily have served the Protestant Church and Interest, yet we quickly found that the only reason of placing him in the Government, was, that their proceedings might not seem too violent in the beginning; and that it was never intended he should exercise the same power that other Chief Governours had before him.

In his time the standing Army of that Kingdom was new moulded. This was the first great step that was made (after the late K. *James* had settled himself in the Government) towards the carrying on of that Work which had been so long contrived and aimed at. This was managed by the now Duke *Tyreconnel*, who was not tardy in the performance of what was expected from him. Some frivolous pretences were found to displace the greater part of the Officers of the Army, many of whom had no other dependance for their Subsistence, and some had purchased their Employments at the expence of their whole Fortunes. Age and Decrepitnes was a great pretence, and nothing is more certain, than that several brisk and active Gentlemen were discarded on that very account, and others put in to their room, who might have been their Fathers for years, tho' they were not their equals in any thing that is commendable. But indeed, these Gentlemens Crimes was, that they were honest, and would not be instrumental in the betraying of their Church or their Countrey. And when Popish Officers were for the most part employ'd, how easie it was to make up the Army of the same kind is obvious enough to all Men.

There were also some considerable alterations made in the Civil  
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Government during the *Ld. Clarendon's* time; some Popish Judges were sworn, and many Popish Justices of the Peace made thro' the Kingdom.

When they had gain'd thus much ground, and had gotten not only the Sword, but all places of strength into their hands, they thought it time to carry on the Work with greater speed and vigour, and were not afraid to proceed more openly and bare-facedly than they had done in the beginning. The *Ld. Clarendon* is call'd away from the Government of that Kingdom, and the *Ld. Tyrconnel* succeeds him with a less magnificent Title, but greater Power; and indeed it is not easily determin'd which was most unfortunate, the Civil Government or the Church in having a Popish Lord Deputy placed over them.

Indeed the Civil Government did for the present, and in all outward appearance suffer most of the two: For it was not so easie to find a pretence of breaking through the Act of Uniformity, which their own Lawyers affirm'd would be a work of some difficulty. But as to Civil Affairs, there were immediately made great alterations. A Popish *Ld. Chancellour* was set up, most of such Protestants as had been continu'd in the Privy Council after the death of *K. Charles II.* were turn'd out, and Papists put in, more Popish Judges sworn, Popish High Sheriffs appointed, and a new Shoale of *Irish* Justices of the Peace Commissionated; and many of the Protestant Justices of the Peace laid aside, so that the Popish Justices might carry what they pleased in the Country against the Protestants. All Charters were call'd in, and condemn'd right or wrong, and Popish Mayors, Aldermen, Burgesses and other Members put into the Original Charters. Nay, a Protestant was hardly look'd upon as qualified to bear the Office of a Petty-Constable.

Thus had they dispos'd and regulated all things for the Election of such a Parliament as should do whatever they should think convenient for the carrying on their designs in *Ireland*. And (I think) no Protestant can doubt but that they aimed at the final Ruine of the *English* Interest and Settlement, and the utter extirpation of the Protestant Religion out of that Kingdom: and certainly they made such steps towards these ends, and so dispos'd all matters in order to them, that we must necessarily conclude, that nothing hindered them from putting their purposes in execution, but that they waited the Event of Affairs in *England*, and thought that if they should be too forward in *Ireland*, it might awaken the People here, and so be a means to hinder the great Work which was to be carried on in this Kingdom. For they very well knew, that if they gain'd the Point in *England*, they might settle things in *Ireland* when and how they pleased.

In the mean time they provided that *Irish* Protestants should never be secure of the Estates in their possession, nor easily recover such Debts as were due to them: For tho they made such mighty pretences to the equal distribution of Justice to all manner of Persons; yet if the least law could be found in a Protestant's Title to an Estate, and if once came to be disputed, 'twas easily determined who should have the better; for a Popish Sheriff was never at a loss for a Jury, whose Consciences would not in the least boggle at the carrying of any thing for a Catholick against an Heretick.

But in plain matters of Debt due by Bond, or made out by full undeniable Evidence, the Judge did commonly grant Executions even against Papists; but the matter was so managed with the Sheriff, that the Debtor might go publickly about his Affairs, in spite of the Decrees or Executions against him in the hands of the Sheriff, who would be sure to avoid him upon all occasions. I should be extream tedious (especially on a Subject so dull and ungrateful as this is, if it should here give an account of all the Oppressions and unjust Proceedings of this kind, to which I was my self a Witness. For the Laws were so made use of, as if they were purposely contrived in favour of Holy R. Catholicks against the Protestant Hereticks. And yet such was their wonderful confidence, that all this time we abounded with no discourse, so much as *Excommunications* on the excellent Government of the Land. What a desirable Magistrates it had pleas'd God to place over us! what a happy People we were in living among such Just and Honest Men, Kind Neighbours, and good Friends! And all this time the Preservation of our Laws was design'd as the preservation of the Edict of *Nantes* was, when fair and plausible Stories were given out by the *French* Sages, that things would be carried in favour of the Protestants of that Kingdom; then to be sure the destruction of those poor People was more especially endeavour'd.

But when Civil Affairs were in this condition, you may imagine how it fared with Ecclesiasticks; for tho they did not at first publickly invade the Rights or Patrimony of the Church, except in some particular cases; yet they took care that the Ecclesiastical Laws of the Kingdom (which are there the only means the Clergy have to recover their dues) should signifie little or nothing; and the Popish Inhabitants of the Country were soon given to understand, that tho the Judges of the Spiritual Courts were not hindered to proceed against them as formerly; yet that their Excommunications should be but *Brui a fulminar*. Thunder that should be as innocent and harmless as Lambent Fires, and that they should want that Sting which alon in former times render'd them Terrible to Men of their Principles, who had no greater opinion of the

Power of the Protestant Churches, and did but little value the Curse of lying under an Heretical Excommunication, as they imagine that of our Church to be. In Causes of small Dues, Book-Money and Offerings, the L. Chancellour did absolutely refuse to grant Writs *de Excommunicato Capiendo*; and by that means the Clergy lost that Branch of their Income, which was very considerable. And indeed when any of the Natives did refuse to pay even the Corn-Tythes, and Writs were obtained against them, the Popish High Sheriffs did seldom or never Execute them; but on the contrary, several of them released such as they found in Custody on those accounts, when they entered on their Office, without more ado. Thus did they as much as in them lay to injure the Church, by reducing the Clergy as low as they could, that we might by that means be rendered unable to grapple with our Enemies, whose daily Business and Study it was to impose hardships upon us.

As to the recovery of Debts, the Clergy had rather worse usage than others. And I can affirm it for a Truth, that during the last two years, in the more Popish parts of the Country, the most of them had considerable Benefices, they scarce receiv'd as much out of them as bought them Bread. Nor could we foresee any thing but ruine so inevitable, that we had no humane visible means of escaping it, till God took an unexpected and wonderful Course, at least to give us a Prospect of Deliverance. Our Enemies grew daily more insolent, and offered us greater Affronts and Injuries; and indeed they wanted only the opportunity of a Parliament to vote us *The main Grievance of the Nation*.

This was the condition of the Church in general; it had indeed suffered further in many particular Instances. Several of the Churches, or at least, of the places set aside for Divine Service were taken away; such especially as were built on consecrated Ground, where the Chappels of Abbeys formerly stood: For there had passed several Acts of State in that Kingdom, for the building of Places of that kind, partly because they stood more convenient, and partly because they were more easily repaired than the Ancient Parish Churches could be. In most, if not all Places where the Proprietors of those Abbeys were Papists, those Churches or Chappels were in a rude and forcible manner seisd on, and turn'd into Mass-Houses, on pretence that they belonged to those Proprietors, tho the consecrated Ground belonging to all such Abbeys is excepted from them by an Act of Parliament in that Kingdom; some of these that were so taken away, I both know and can name, as *Portsmouth Abbey*, and many others I could mention, had I the opportunity of consulting some Clergy-Men now in *England*.

But the great and principal instance in which the Rights and Patrimony



ny of the Church were publicly invaded and taken away, was that of the Wardenhip of the Town of *Galway* in the Province of *Connaught*. This Town being an *English* Colony was treated very ill in the time of *K. Edm. 6th*, by their *Irish* Neighbours, particularly in relation to the Church, by the *Irish* Archbishop of *Tuam*. Upon their application to that King, a Charter was granted them, in which the Church of that place was made independent of the Archbishoprick, and a power given them annually to elect a Warden and Nine Vicars for the Service of the Church. But many years before the Rebellion of 41, when the Church was settled in the *Protestants* hands, their Number was reduced to Two, a Warden and a Lecturer, and the *Protestant* Archbishop re-assumed the Jurisdiction over them. This was done by all reasonable Computation in the Reign of *K. James I.* but what Year, does not appear either by their Records, or any of their Charters.

In this State continued that Church till the Reign of *K. Charles II.* He first granted a Patent to one *Dr. Vaughan*, precedent to the Charter given the Town, soon after his Restoration; in which Patent 'twas ordered, That the said *Vaughan* should be elected annually to the said Wardenhip, during his Natural Life. When he died, *K. Charles II.* thought convenient to annex the said Wardenhip to the See of *Tuam* for ever, which he did by Letters Patents to his Grace the present Archbishop of *Tuam*, who accordingly enjoy'd it for some time. But in the Government of the Lord *Tyrconnel* that Corporation surrendered their Charter, and used all the endeavours imaginable to have it renewed with all the privileges they had in their ancient Charter, granted by *K. Edward VI.* And that which they principally intended in this, was to obtain the Election of a Warden and Vicars, or at least a pretence to it, which was enough for them, as Affairs were managed, that they might force the Archbishop, and the *Protestant* Clergy out of that Corporation.

The vigilant Archbishop was aware of this, and used his best endeavours to prevent them: By great solicitation he obtain'd a Hearing before the Lord Deputy, the Judges, and several of the Privy-Council and Chief Ministers of State, in the Castle of *Dublin*. He knew (I presume) before he came thither, that the matter either was, or would be determined in favour of his Adversaries; but however he would not omit to do his Duty, nor to let them know, that he was neither afraid to assert his own and the Churches Rights, nor so close handed as to spare the charge of seeing the best Lawyers he could entertain for his assistance in a matter of that importance. But not only his Lawyers, tho' eminent and ingenious Practitioners, were snubb'd and silenc'd by a maudlin and unmanly Lord Chancellor, but the Archbishop himself, in an excellent Speech that

that he made upon the Subject in hand, was Three several times interrupted by him, in an absurd, ridiculous and rude manner : The first was about *Excommunication*, which the Archbishop happened to mention in his Discourse. The Chancellor abruptly told him, That he had no power of *Excommunication* but what he derived from the King. The Archbishop answered, That he derived the power of *Excommunication* from Christ only, but was obliged to the Civil Magistrate for the Liberty of exercising that power *impune* : That he never knew a *Roman Catholick* of that Opinion : That *Eraſtus* and *Hobbs* might hold it ; and that he knew some of a different Complexion from the *Roman Catholicks*, and but some, of that persuasion. But it happened that in this he bore too hard on the Lord Chancellor, who apprehended it as a Reflection, look'd upon himself as affronted, flew into a great passion, and resolv'd to give the Archbishop what interruption he could. This he Twice again attempted, but was as often baffled and expos'd by his Grace to that degree, that it appear'd to all the standers by, that the Chancellor had much more of the Fumes of Wine in his head, than he had of Judgment or Reason. And this the Archbishop did with all that Gravity, Temper and Modesty that are natural to him, and proceeded as smoothly in his Discourses, as if he had met with no interruption at all ; tho' all that he gained by it, was the general applause of having discours'd excellently and learnedly : This the very *Popish Lawyers* who were concern'd against him, confess'd : They plac'd Garlands on his head at the same time when they had Instruments in their hands ready to sacrifice him. Notwithstanding the unanswerable Reasons that he assign'd, why a Charter of that kind should not be granted, particularly, That it was the Cause of the *Catholick Church*, without respect to any sub-division of Christians, as prejudicial to a *Roman Catholick*, as to a *Protestant Archbishop* ; and that the King's Right of Presentation was given away in it ; yet was it carried against him, and such a Charter as that Corporation desired, immediately granted. Upon this they seize on the Archbishop's Tythes in the Parishes belonging to that Church ; not only such as properly belonged to that Church, but such as belonged to his Grace as Archbishop, and which indeed he enjoy'd before he was concern'd in the Wardenship of that Town. And this they did without Law-Suit or Trial. Upon this the Archbishop took the usual course in Cases of that kind ; which was to prove his possession for Three Years and upwards, and his present disturbance. Upon that *Affidavit* he mov'd in the High-Court of *Chancery*, by his Council, for an Injunction, to quiet him in his possession till the matter should be decided by Law. But the Lord Chancellor answer'd, That the Archbishop's Patent had been condemn'd

demned in the *Castle*, tho it never came judicially before him, nor indeed had he ever seen it. Soon after this came the Day for Election of Magistrates and Clergy-men in the Town of *Galway*; where in the publick *Tholsel* they elected a Popish Warden, and Nine Priests, as Vicars. The Archbishop by his Register, a publick Notary, protested against their Proceedings, and desired his Protest might be entered, which was refused. One of the Protestant Aldermen urged, That ever since the Reformation, when that Corporation did elect, they always elected Protestant Clergy-men; and that the Persons now elected were not qualified by Law for any Ecclesiastical Preferment, and could not take the Oaths required by Law. To this the pert Recorder, one *Lynch*, a Barrister at Law, answered, That the King had a Dispensing Power, and that he had given them a Patent (meaning their Charter), in which he had communicated that power to them, and that they would dispence with those Oaths. And indeed that power seemed to be communicated through the whole Kingdom; it ran through the whole Channel of the Law: No Man, from the Lord Deputy and Council, to the meanest Constable: No Court, from the High Court of *Chancery*, to the most inferior *Mamoor Court*, but could, and did dispence both with Law and Reason.

The Natives of this Town of *Galway*, prided themselves in being the most forward of the whole Kingdom in matters of this kind. They had the first Popish Mayor and Sheriffs, and Common-Councilmen, and other Officers, as well as the first Beneficed Popish Clergy. In this Corporation the Prince of *Orange*, our present King, was burnt in *Effigie*, in *December* last; one of the Sheriffs, and several of the principal Members of the Corporation, with the Deputy-Sovereign of *Tuam*, and many Countrey Gentlemen of good Estates, being present, and chiefly concern'd in the Action. The manner of it was thus; There was a great Statue which had formerly been taken from the Stern of an old *Dutch Ship*, which was taken a-sunder in that Harbour: This Statue stood at the Door of one *Andrew*, a Protestant, for many years, and was called, *The Sign of the Prince of Orange*; This the Sheriff, and others, took down, and burnt part of it in one, and part in another of the most publick places of the Town, drinking several times Confusion and Damnation to the Prince of *Orange*; and calling him by all the ill Names they could imagine. The Deputy Sovereign of *Tuam*, one *Connor*, would have cut off his Hair, and burnt it, because it was of an *Orange* Colour (as really it was), but that his thrifty Son, to save the  
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the charge of a Wigg, prevented him. It happened, that in the fire in which they burnt this Statue, there was a Tar-Barrel, out of which some of the Tar fried, and ran on the Statue; which the same Connor seeing, drew out his Sword, and ran at it, crying, *See, I have killed the Son of a Whore, his Hearts Blood runs out of him:* Though in few Days after, when the Sages of the Town considered, that in all probability they should be called to an account for it, they had the impudence even to deny that Action which was done in the Face of so many hundreds of Spectators.

As to the Archbishoprick of *Cashel*, and the other Suffragan Bishopricks that fell void in that Kingdom, though the Rents of them were carried into the Exchequer, yet we very well knew what use they were put to, which was the support of the Popish Bishops of that Kingdom. The same use was made of the Rents of all other inferior Church-Livings that fell in the King's Gift: For though it was never known before, that the King meddled with such Rents (for they were always sequestred by the Bishop of the Diocesis for the use of the next Incumbent); yet were they seized on by the King, and the Churches left desolate without Incumbent or Curate: Or if they did put in Curates, to be sure they would pick up such (if any such could be found) as should do either God or the Church little Service: Persons who through their Immoralities and Ignorance, had never arrived to any thing of Preference; or for their Misbehaviour had been turned out of their Employments. And indeed these were the fittest Men to serve that Cause, which was never yet either promoted or upheld by fair and honest means, and which they were never so near carrying in that Kingdom since the Reformation; Nor was the Protestant Religion there ever so near an Overthrow. We all stood on the brink of Ruine, whilst our Enemies gazed on, impatiently expecting our Down-fall; which was (as I have already hinted) retarded only by the slow motion of matters in *England*, whose Event we expected with no small Concernment. Indeed the publick opposition which the Bishops made to the Repealing of the *Test and Penal Laws*, and the constant and generous Resolutions both of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, that they would not comply with the Court-Designs, administred a great deal of Satisfaction to us: We look'd upon our selves as relieved for a time, though not delivered from the Dangers we foresaw, but knew not how to prevent.

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But here behold how soon God can blain the designs of Wicked Men! And see a mighty instance of extraordinary Providence! When we lay in Darkness and in the shadow of Death, the Almighty raised up a mighty and unexpected Light for us; and though we of that Kingdom saw it but from afar, yet is it impossible to express how extremely we were refreshed and comforted by it: And surely they that felt its nearer approaches, must be too much revived and charmed by them, ever to desire to hear of its being eclipsed or clouded. Instead of hearing of those Laws (which are the security of the Church and Nation against Popery and Slavery) being taken off by a Parliament, that was to be picked out of new-model'd Corporations, and out of the several Shires by undue Elections; and if all fail'd, to be forced into compliance by a standing Army, we hear of a Protestant Prince, whose Honour and Piety prompt him to hazard both his Sacred Life and his Treasure, in securing our Church, our Laws, and our Estates; and in rescuing us from that distraction, which a great part of *Europe* with pleasure, and the other with trouble and concernment foresaw, we must inevitably have fallen into, as certainly we had, had not God inspired our present Gracious Sovereign, with the Princely and Pious Resolutions of relieving and preserving us.

And here it would be vain and impertinent in me, to attempt to give a particular account of that successful and prosperous Expedition, where there are so many Eye-witnesses of that great and miraculous Providence, that was visible in the progress thereof; which was such as shewed the undertaking to be acceptable to Almighty God, who prospereth the just endeavours of Good Men; but taketh the wicked in the Nets which they spread for the Innocent.

When *England* was thus redeemed and restored to its ancient Liberties and Happiness, and the Government thereof, by the Representatives of the Nation, put into those Sacred Hands that wrought out this mighty Deliverance for them, and the Jesuitical Vermin that infested and plagued the Nation were fled and banished, the Heavens seemed then to look down upon *Ireland* with kind and favourable Aspects; and the poor Protestants there, began to re-assume that Spirit and Cheerfulness, to which, during the Reign of the late *R. James*, they were wholly Strangers; nor could they so stifle that joy, which the great changes of *England*, and the hopes of some sudden alterations in *Ireland*, had raised in them; but it appeared in their Countenances, and was soon observed by their malicious and prying Popish Neighbours, who began to look dark and fullen, and, without doubt, to think of some such bloody Practices, as were put in Execution in the Year Forty One; and some discoveries were made, that a general Massacre was intended by the Papists:

Upon which the Lords of *Meath, Down, Monaghan*, and several of the other Protestant Nobility and Gentry, made their application to the Lord Tyrconnel; who assured them there should no such thing be acted; and to that end issued a Proclamation, in which he promised Protection to all manner of Persons; and made it Penal to discourse, or give out, that any such Massacre was intended, though he very well knew that it had been proposed to him. This Sir John Purz Gerald, a Man of some Sway and Interest in the Country, and an Officer in the Army, confessed to a Protestant Gentleman, that indeed such a thing had been proposed, and had gone on; but the Lord Tyrconnel, and several honest Gentlemen who were Officers in the Army, opposed it, and declared their abhorrence of so barbarous and unchristian an Action, in such terms, as put them, that were most desirous to forward to it, off from the execution of it at that time.

Soon after this, the Protestants of that Kingdom began with impatience to expect an Army from *England*; and the frequent accounts which we had in almost every News Letter and Gazette that came into *Ireland*, of the Provisions that were made in *England*, for the relief of that Kingdom, put the Protestants there by those measures they would otherwise have taken for their security; for since assistance was daily expected, it was thought most convenient, by a great many judicious Men, to lie quiet, till they should hear of their Friends being landed; that all Men that were able to do it, should provide themselves with Arms and Ammunition, and be in a readiness to join with the *English* Army, as soon as possibly they could, after they should land; and then if the Lord Tyrconnel and the *Irish* would not submit, to force them to it. But it was generally believed, that if a small Party had landed about the time that Colonel *Hamilton* went over to the Lord Tyrconnel, he would not have stood out against *England*; for at that time, many of the *Irish* Nobility and Gentry were willing to embrace the terms offered them from *England*, particularly such as either had preserved their Estates in the Rebellion of Forty One, or had purchased largely since the late Settlement; of that number were the Lords of the *English* Pale, who headed by the Earl of *Limerick*, (whose only Son, the Lord *Dungan*, was then a Prisoner in the Castle of *Chester*;) waited on the Lord Deputy; the Earl of *Limerick* told him, that his Excellency had had the opportunity of saving Money; and having but one Daughter, might (if Things did not go well with him in *Ireland*) retire into *France*, or some other foreign Country; but the Earl of *Limerick* continued, that for his part, he had lived on the Rents of his Estate, and must do so for the future, and would not run the hazard of losing it, by opposing the Government of *England*:  
that

that besides all this, his only Son was a Prisoner, or Hostage, in *England*, who was dearer to him than all his Estates. After this, he told the Lord Deputy, that he and the other Lords there present, would make some way of preparing to oppose the Invasions they expected from *England*, till his Excellency might make Terms for himself, to a great Advantage as he could; but if he neglected it, they would make Conditions for themselves. Many others of the *Irish* through the whole Kingdom, were of the same Opinion and Inclination; which was an Argument to the Protestant, that as soon as an *English* Army would land, the Matter would be ended without Bloodshed, or the destruction of the Country; which they knew could not be avoided, if they would take up Arms; and endeavour to suppress them by their own Force only, besides the danger of being baffled before they could come to an Head, having no certain main Body to repair to.

Upon this may be added that main Embassy into *France*, on which the Lord *Throckmorton* sent the Lord *Mountjoy*, and the Lord Chief Baron *Rice*, to *K. James*. This seemed to be a farther Confirmation of what we hoped for, that the Lord *Throckmorton* would peaceably and tamely resign the Sword, and that he only wanted *K. James's* leave to do it, which the Lord *Mountjoy* was persuaded, would easily be granted; when the King should receive the Message, which he was commissioned to deliver him, and the State of the Kingdom were laid open before him, with those Circumstances, in which he was to represent it. This appeared plainly by his Circular Letter to Sir *Arthur Koyden*, and others; the main scope of which, was to beg the Protestants to live peaceably and quietly, till *K. James's* Pleasure were known; and that they need not fear, but all things would end to their Satisfaction and Advantage. In the Front of this Letter, he tells him, that the Lord Deputy had promised in Council, that he would not raise any more Forces, (for he was but beginning, and there were not full 5000 of the old standing Army in the Kingdom; and some of them Protestants;) and that none of the new raised Men should be put in Garrisons, or Towns, but remain at their own, or their Officers Houses in the Country, till he had received the King's Answer. And indeed the Lord *Mountjoy's* Departure out of the Kingdom, was a great Motive to many of the *British* of the Kingdom, to hearken to his Advice; their Eyes being on him, as a Person fit to be one of the principal instruments in to great an Undertaking, as the engaging in a War against so powerful an Enemy, as they must in all probability expect to deal with. The common Discourse among his Lordship's Enemies in *Dublin*, and the *Irish* Officers, when *K. James* came first thither, was, that the Ground-work of what was to be acted in the North of *Ireland*, was laid by him,

when he was last in that part of the Country: and it is believed that were this true, and that he had heartily engaged in that Affair, and continued at *Derry*, many of the Mischiefs, that since happened in that Kingdom, had been prevented: but the Mistakes of great and wise Men, are commonly of dangerous and fatal Consequence.

The Account of his Commitment in *France*, and the Reason for it, as I heard it publickly in the Coffee house in *Dublin*, related by some that belonged to the Castle, since *K. James* came thither, and were employed by him at Court, as well as by other Officers, is, That when he was sent down by the Lord Deputy into the North, to quiet the People of that Country, he made it his Business to engage all the Protestant Gentlemen in an Association, and disposed all Things, in order to an Insurrection there, if his Message into *France* should prove ineffectual. This (they say) appeared to the Lord Tyrconnel, not many days after the Lord Mountjoy left *Dublin*, in order to his Voyage, by a Letter under his own Hand, directed to Colonel *Lundy*, and his Lordship's Son, Colonel *Pen* at *Derry*; in which (the Relaters of this Account affirm) he advises them to keep Things very quiet at *Derry*, and the parts adjacent; and that he did hope, he should use such Arguments to *K. James*, as would prevail with him to order the Lord Tyrconnel to submit to *England*, upon as good Terms as he could make for himself and the *Irish*. But however, lest *K. James* should prove obstinate, they should go on as privately as they could, with what he instructed them in before he left them; and that they should lose no ground, if they saw occasion for it, and they should be pressed by the *Irish*. This Letter, they say, (that it might not miscarry) he delivered to a trusty Quaker, who (like the rest of them) only pretended to more Honesty than other Men. This holy Brother imagined, by the Charge that was given him by my Lord concerning the Delivery of it, that there must be something extraordinary in it; and because he could not read it, he carried it to one *Anthony Sharp*, who is one of the Quaker Aldermen of *Dublin*, made by the Lord Tyrconnel, and a great Preacher, and Ruler in that Synagogue. This *Sharp* immediately opened the Letter, read it, and carried it straight away to the Lord Deputy, who posts it after the Lord Mountjoy into *France* to *K. James*, upon which his Lordship was committed to the *Bastille*. This the Lord Tyrconnel's Creatures say, was the Reason he did not perform his Engagements to the Lord Mountjoy in Council. Though no Man, that considers the Design then to be managed, (which was the raising of a powerful Army,) will believe he ever intended to observe one tittle of them. But the Truth of it is, he was either barely jealous of my Lord Mountjoy; or might, perhaps, have some ill Account of him, from some false Brother:



Brother: And therefore he endeavoured to secure him, which he thought might not be so conveniently done in *Ireland*, as where he could have none to assist or pity him. He was no sooner committed to the Care of his Keeper, the Lord Chief Baron *Rice*, and had shipped himself for *France*, but (notwithstanding the solemn Promises made him by the Lord *Tyrconnel*) Commissions are sent with speed, into all parts of the Kingdom, to raise Forces; Arts used by the Lord *Tyrconnel* to gain the Great Ones who were dissatisfied among the *Irish*; he tells them especially, that there were great Divisions in *England*, and that there was no Army to be sent into *Ireland*, and that King *James* would soon come with *French* Forces and Money: He takes particular Care to satisfy the Earl of *Limerick*, whose Example had great influence on all the rest, and who is much more easily won (when he hears of his Son the Lord *Dungan's* Escape out of *England*) to undertake what he neither durst, nor would have concern'd himself in, if that Hostage had been kept from him.

And, to my certain knowledge, Commissions were forced by the Government on several Persons of meaner Quality; for many private Gentlemen, such especially as had acquired good Estates, seemed very much to fear, that the Event of a War against *England* would prove fatal to them, and did not care for being concerned in the Army; but Commissions were sent them in Post-Letters, with Menaces, that if they did not accept of them, and raise Men immediately, their Estates should be seized at present to pay the Army, and in the end be confiscated: For, though the Lord *Tyrconnel* might have easily pitched upon other Men, more fit for Military Affairs, yet would he have the wealthiest Men for his Captains; not only because they were best able to maintain their Men, but that no Man of Estate or Quality in the Kingdom should be less guilty, or obnoxious to the Penalties that might, for the future, be inflicted by the *English* Government; and therefore some or other had daily new Commissions sent them, though they did not so much as speak to the Government of any thing of that kind.

When it was now visible to the World, that the Lord *Tyrconnel* had broken his Promises to the Lord *Mounjoy*, to all intents and purposes, the Protestant Nobility and Gentry in the North, the Lord *Kingston* in *Connaught*, and the Inhabitants of the Town of *Bandon* in *Munster*, and some others that came in to their Assistance, appeared in Arms, and declared, they would defend and preserve themselves, to the utmost of their power, against all that should oppose or injure them. But here I must own, that I do neither pretend to be able to give an Account of the Transactions of *Londonderry*, and the Northern Forces, nor of my Lord *Kingston's* Party at *Sligo*, or *Inniskillin*, having not been conversant with them

them, nor is it what I any way intended to meddle with; for they were in a state of War, and the Injuries which the *Irish* offered them, were as to an open Enemy. But I shall speak here of the suffering Protestants, who were dispersed through the Kingdom, and lay at the Mercy of the *Irish*. These poor Men's Miseries began, at this time, to grow upon them extremely; for at first there were only some private Thefts committed by the *Irish* Soldiers, but about this time the Popish Parish-Priests had interdicted all their Parishioners, from XIV, to LXXX, from coming to Mass, except each of them was furnished with a Skene of 16 Inches long in the Blade, and a large Half-pike: As many of them as came unfurnished, had their Choice, whether they would be excommunicated, or pay 7 s. 6 d. for each Offence. The Orders which they had from the Priests were, that they should be ready at an Hour's Warning, to go wheresoever they should have occasion to command them: And the Business of the Priests, and their Followers, was, undoubtedly, to manage the Protestants that were dispersed through the Country, if their standing Army should be drawn together, either against the North of *Ireland*, or if an *English* Army should land. But the Priests found another Way to employ them immediately; that is, they sent them to plunder the Protestants of their Cattel, and as much of their other Goods as they could lay their Hands on: They began at first to take away but some part, but in a little time they drove away whole Flocks and Herds; Thousands of Sheep, and Hundreds of black Cattel in a Night; great part of them they destroyed, and the rest they divided, and kept as their own, in the more mountainous, and wilder parts of the Country: And yet was there no Remedy for the poor Protestants; for, either it was not safe to follow these Robbers, so great were their Numbers in many places; or if some of them were taken, they were rarely committed to Prison by the Justices of the Peace; and then, to be sure, they would find out some way of Revenge or other: Or if some few of them happen'd to be committed by some Justice that, perhaps, had something more of Sense and Shame than others, they were befriended by some Captain or other, and released out of Gaol, as lusty, able Men, fit for the King's Service: This answered all Crimes that could be objected against them.

These were the very Courses taken by the *Irish*, in the Year 1641. before the Cutting of Throats, as I have been informed by them that were Eye Witnesses to their Proceedings at that time; and a Massacre of that kind was not a little feared by the poor Protestants that were, and now are dispersed there: But though they did not then begin to murder by downright Violence, yet against some particular Persons, which

which any of them bore a Spleen to, they took another Course, which was, to give in, and swear some Information of Treasonous Words or Actions, and so to murder them by Law. I did not hear of much Mischief done that way, but of much intended; and several Persons had certainly suffer'd by that Means, had they not made their Escape from them. 'Twas then a Crime in a Protestant to smile, or look pleasant; they would swear he was a Whig in his Heart, and held Correspondence with the Prince of *Orange's* Party. No Man had, in two Years before, improved either House or Land, but they would affirm, he knew that the Prince of *Orange* intended to invade *England*. And as for the Bishops that continued there, they affirmed, that they stay'd only to do Mischief, and to betray King *James's* Cause; such especially as continued in that part of the Country, where they intended to retreat, if an *English* Army should land before King *James*, and the *French* Succours, and the *Irish* should happen to be baffled by them; and that was, into *Connacht*. The Archbishop of *Tuam* and the Bishop of *Killalla* were the only two remaining Bishops of that Province, and continued there for the Encouragement and Preservation of the Protestants; as long as they could, without apparent danger of their Lives: And so, indeed, did the others that left the Kingdom.

The Arch-Bishop of *Tuam* continued in that barbarous Country, even after they had plundered him, and taken away the very Beeves he had kept for his Table; and because he had happened the Summer before to build up a Steeple to the Cathedral Church of *Tuam*, where he intended to place six Bells at his own charge; to build a small Foot Bridge over a Brook near his Gardens; and to fall to work about some Fish Ponds about his Palace; the very Towns-men that lived by him, and by such as resorted to him, gave out, that he was certainly privy to the P. of *Orange's* design of coming into *England*, or would never have laid out so much Money at that unreasonable time, when he might have expected to loose both Church and Palace: Spacuts are the malicious and revengeful; that they neither will want an opportunity, nor let slip the least pretence of criminating the best Man in the World, if they owe him a diskindness: For these Causes, and at the request of some of the Protestants (who said they staid there in respect to his Grace only, who had staid so long for their sakes, that both he and they were in danger) he took leave of the Kingdom.

But it was not all this time thoroughly believed, that the Lord *Ford* would stand out against *England*; nor till after Monsieur de *Porte* was sent into *Ireland*, what his business there should be was variously discoursed; but the sequel soon shewed, that it was to let the Lord *Ford* connet

*comel* know, that it was *K. James's* pleasure he should use all diligence in raising and disciplining as many Men as possibly he could, (and indeed his Lordship was free enough without spurring;) and that he should encourage the *Irish*, by assuring them, that they might soon expect to see King *James*, with *French* Treasure and Assistance: Upon which new sets of Commissions are immediately posted away in every Maile; no Man that had Cows and Corn enough to furnish a Company for three Months, (for so long they undertook to maintain them at their own charge,) and wool enough to cloath them, but had a Commission for a Company; nay some, that were never worth so much in their lives, were made Captains, and maintained their Men at the expence of the poor Protestants; who now daily and hourly hope for the news of an *English* Army being landed; nothing charms them more than an East-Wind; but when it stands contrary, they are almost displeased at the Heavens, and angry with the Elements: But a fair Wind, and no account of their wish'd for Friends, dejected them more than the great losses which they daily suffered; for the plundering Trade was carried on with so much vigour, that in less than two Months time, 'twas deplorable to see, and almost incredible to tell, how many good Families (whose main riches consisted in their Stock and Cattel, and who lived as plentifully and happily (according to their several qualites) as any People (I may venture to say) under the Sun) were reduced to Want and Poverty; and that in such a degree, that if they had not had a little Money to buy them Victuals, or some stock of Meal, Beef, or Butter in their Houses, which was commonly laid up by them, for the Spring, and some part of the Summer's Provisions, they might have begged without Pity. And all this was acted by Russians, that were so far from being any way touched with Remorse of Conscience for their Villanies, that they thought them meritorious: They could dispense with their sacred and inviolable *Lent*-Fast, so that they did eat nothing but (as they call it) Protestant-Beef and Mutton: In their ununsat Satiety and Wantonness, they pleased and sported themselves with the Ruine of those poor Men they had plunder'd: They would not kill a Beef, or a Mutton, before they had called a formal Jury on him, and tried him for Heresie: If they found, when their Parties went out every Night by Turns, an Hundred, or Eighty in a Company, that they brought in any small *Irish* Cattel that had no Brand, and that they guessed, by that Rule, belonged to an *Irish* Man, the Beasts were dismissed; but the Delinquents that brought them in were called to an Account, indicted, and fined in five or ten Pounds; which they were to satisfy the Society in stolen Cattel, over and above what they should bring in in their own Night, in which they were obliged to take their Turn. But



If the Beasts were found to be branded, (or as they called it,) to have a Seal on them, and were in good Case, as those that belonged to them that followed the *English* way of Husbandry commonly were, they were then condemned for Hereticks, and immediately slaughtered. This may seem strange and ridiculous, but I averr it as a certain Truth. A poor *English*-man, that I very well knew, who had but one Beef, found her tied up with a Rope in one of his Neighbour's Houses, the Jury about her, and the Priest of the Parish, as Judge, pronouncing Sentence against her; which had been immediately executed, had not the Owner come in at the door, and reprieved her from the Ax, which was lifted up to give the Blow.

I would be endless here, to give an Account of all the stuff of this kind, that I might write to my own Knowledge; but there is one true Story, so barbarous that it ought not to be passed by, and that was acted in the Parish-Church of *Headford*, in the County of *Galway*, and Diocess of *Tuam*, in *Connaught*. One Major *Huggart* made a Garrison of this Church, and his Soldiers brought in as many of the choice Sheep of a Flock, that belonged to one *Gibbs* a Protestant, and grazed near the Church, as they thought they should have occasion for at that time; but they would not put them to death, (they said,) till they had given them a fair Trial for their Lives: And first a Judge and Jury are appointed, and one of the Muttons put into the Pulpit, where one of the Villains pulls, and hurts it till it bleats; then they cry, down with the Rogue, he preaches heretical Doctrine; and so one by one, till they were all condemned; from thence they carried them to the Altar, on which they slaughtered them.

I must confess, I had once a charitable and favourable Opinion of many of those Persons; that is, when they were our Slaves, fawned upon us, and were kept under, as indeed they still ought to have been; for, as the Poet says of the *Spartan* Dogs, (they deserve no modest Terms,) they are a ravenous Generation, and greedy of Blood; and are never in good order, but when tied up, or close coupled: when they were, or at least might have been kept so, they made many of us believe very kind Things of them. I, for my part, knew well enough, that the Church of *Rome* holds bloody and damnable Principles, but was willing to believe, that the poor ordinary Members of it might not be instructed in them. I read the Book called the *Jesuite's Catechism*, and thought it too severe, and that silly ignorant People might be Strangers to the horrid Principles of bigotted Priests and Friars. But now I have down-right Demonstration, that they were notorious Dissemblers and Hypocrites, and cannot be wronged in the worst Character that can be given of them: That they suck in this *Romish* Poison with their Mother's Milk,

and are taught to hate and abhor *English Men*, and Protestants; as soon as their *Pope*, *Noster*. The *French* Author, in his Apology for the Papists under the *English* Government, assigns the very true and only Cause, why they did not according to the Decrees of their Church, and the Canons of their Councils, root out Heresie, or in plain *English*, destroy and murder all the Protestants in these three Kingdoms: That is, that they wanted Ability, and were therefore excusable for the present. And we need not doubt, but their good Works of this kind had been seen before in the World, and their Zeal flamed in all the corners of the King of *England's* Dominions; but that they feared it would scorch or consume themselves. Wherefore I must here say, that I have seen so much of Antichristianism, Uncharitableness, Inhumanity, and Ingratitude among them, that except I should be endued from on high, with an extraordinary measure of that Charity which believeth all Things, I shall never be induced to believe, That true Morality, and Popery; an honest Man, and a thorough-paced Papist can be consistent.

But so great was the havoc, which these unsatiable Robbers made in that miserable Kingdom, (for they spared no manner of Protestant, from him that had the greatest Flocks and Herds, to the poor Man, whose Family, perhaps, lived on the Milk of his two Cows, (a miserable Stock in that Country,)) That the Lord Deputy at length, partly by the daily loud Complaints, and importunate Petitions of the despoiled; and especially, by the Advice of the more considerate Officers of the Army, who told him, that if he did not suppress those unruly Thieves and Plunderers, it would occasion in some time a Famine in the Land, and there would not be Meat left to support their Army. The Lord Deputy (I say) was moved by these Considerations, to issue a Proclamation, requiring all Justices of the Peace, and other Officers, both Military and Civil, to be aiding and assisting in the suppressing of those Thieves and Robbers, who thus infested and plundered the Country; and who by this time, did not only take away the poor Protestants Cattel, and what they had without doors; but in many places, that is, where ever they could break open their Houses, and took away their Household Goods, Provisions, Money, wearing Apparel, and all Things that were of value, whose whole work it was to do.

These Robbers, had in three several places of the Kingdom (that I heard of) formed themselves into Regiments; and Companies; each Regiment consisted of ten Companies, and each Company of 100 Men. The three Colonels had been all formerly outlawed, and proclaimed Rebels for Robbery and Theft; one of them was called *Mac Gillis Gray*, in the County of *Lorris* and Province of *Connaught*; the second kept in the Mountains between the County of *Limerick* and County of *Cork*, so

the Province of *Munster*; and the third, in the Mountains of *Wicklow*, in the Province of *Linster*: So that each of them had his peculiar Province; and it was an Incroachment, and an occasion of a Quarrel, if one of them should prey within another's Territories. But they could not so ingross this infernal Trade to themselves, but each of them had within his Provinces great numbers of Interlopers. These Regimented Villains had a certain Discipline, and Method of Plundering; they sent out 100 Men each night by turns, to one part of the Country one night, and to another part another night: By this you may judge it was not easie to suppress them; for though many of the principal Officers of the Army were very hearty in it, yet the private Soldiers had shared so far with them, that they were very loath to be instrumental, either in subduing or hindering them: nay, the very subaltern Officers of the Army did frequently meet and carouze with those other Rapparee, or merry Boy Officers, as they called themselves. So that though many of the standing Army were garrison'd near those Mountains, on the Passes by which these Robbers made their IncurSIONS into the plain Country; yet the Effects of their being there were very inconsiderable; for the Soldiers did not at all molest them in their Roguery, except it were absolutely put upon them; then, perhaps, they took away some part of their Prey, kept part of that for their own Trouble, and returned some small part to the right Owners, who durst not complain of these Injuries, lest their Throats should be cut, or their Houses burnt by night over their Heads, of which there have been several Instances; and indeed the Reparation that such as did complain of this kind of Usage had, was not worth running so great a hazard for it, being no more than a Rebuke to the Commander, and, perhaps, a Command that Things should be so no more.

But some of the principal Officers, were as great Robbers as the Rabble; for they did not only, in many Corporations, suffer their Soldiers to take away the very Meat out of the poor Protestants Mouths, and to pillage their Goods, but were sharers with them: There were many heavy Complaints of this kind in *Dublin*, under the nose of the Government; and so in *Limerick*, *Galway*, *Drogheda*, *Birr*, and *Athlone*; the last of these has a strong Castle in it, and is commanded by one Colonel *Grace*, a notorious and bloody Rebel, in the Rebellion of 41. though of so base an Extraction and Education, that he never knew the four and twenty Letters, nor could write his own Name; nor was he ever looked upon as a good Soldier, or a Man of any Courage, but had always the Reputation of a Coward. All that he had to recommend him to an Employment, was his known Malice and Cruelty to an *English* Man, or a Protestant; Mr. *Blawie* was dragged to Mr. *Philpot*, the Martyr in *Q. Mary's* days, that

that there was not one of those holy Men that suffered for their Religion in those days, who was put to Death, but he had been instrumental in it, and would never put it into his Confession, was scarce a Type of this cruel and barbarous Governor; who though he was not allowed, as yet, to proceed to Murder, and the other Cruelties, exercised by him in the Rebellion of 41. yet he stretched his Power as far as he could; it was common with him, if any of the Protestants, either of Town, or Parts adjacent, had dis-obliged him, or any of his Creatures, to send a File of Musketers for them, and commit them, without more ado, as Prisoners to the Castle, as long as he pleased; tho' he had no Civil Power, and his Commission related only to Military Affairs. By the same Authority he levied Money on the Protestant Inhabitants, and forced the Constables to collect it; he pretended 'twas for the King's Service, and the Reparation of the Castle, tho' indeed it was to put into his own Pocket; and when a Complaint happened to be made against him for this kind of Dealings, 'twas only made a Jest of, as the Tricks of a crabbed and surly old Fellow; and to be sure his Soldiers and Dragoons did not fail to revenge his Quarrel on the Complainants: Insomuch that many of the Heads of Families were forced to withdraw themselves into several Parts of the Country, where they had Friends or Acquaintance; upon which he gave out, that they had withdrawn themselves from their Allegiance to the King, and that he was sure they intended to go over, either to the Lord *Kingston*, or to the Rebels of the North; and therefore he sends out his Soldiers, to bring in all their Goods and Chattels for the King's Use, that is, for his own. And his Commands were so effectually executed, that nothing were left behind, saving the bare Walls of the Houses, which they plundered. There were many of this kind of Governors in the Kingdom; but I instance in this Man, because I was an Eye-witness to his Proceedings.

But it is not to be denied, but that some of the Popish Officers of the Army, and some of the Civil Magistrates, seemed zealous to preserve the Stock and Cattell of the Country, from those common Plunderers, that made such havock in it, which was by this time no easie talk; for these Free-booters began to stand in defiance of all that should oppose them; so dangerous and unruly is a Rabble, when they once understand their own Strength and Abilities; their pretences for assembling themselves may perhaps be fair and specious, but the end of it may be fatal: Did our Horses and our Oxen know their own force, they would scorn to be wrought, or ridden, by Creatures so many degrees more weak and feeble than themselves: This indeed was the case with the *Irish* Mobile, not all the Proclamations their great Lord *Tyrconnel* could issue, nor all



all the Menaces the Popish Justices, and their Land-lords, could use to them, could keep them in any tolerable order; having their Priests on their side, who did all the while encourage them to destroy all that belonged to the Hereticks, and who had no small share of the Plunder.

When the Lord Deputy found that no other means could prevail, he encouraged the Protestants not only to defend their Stock and Houses against those Robbers, but to destroy them where-ever they found them actually committing their accustomed Villanies, and to several of the Protestants he gave Protections, to keep armed Men in their Houses, some Twenty, and some Twelve, and smaller Numbers he allowed to be kept by others according to their quality; but the consequence hereof proved very unhappy to the Protestants, who having this encouragement from the Lord Deputy, behaved themselves so brisk against these Rapparee-Men, killing several Numbers of them, wounding and dispersing them, and rescuing their Cattel from them, even when the Villains were ten to one, that the Government began to consider, that if the Protestants were allowed to keep those Horses and Arms they made so good use of, the *Irish* of the Country would not be able to answer those ends, for which they were at first to appear in Arms; that is, at least to keep the Protestants under, and at home, should an Army land from *England*, who should employ the *Irish* standing Forces. Upon this Orders were issued through all parts of the Kingdom, except those Places where the Protestants were actually in Arms, to take away all our Arms and serviceable Horses: Upon the first notice of this the Protestants immediately concluded that an *English* Army was either landed in some part of the Kingdom, or that the Government had an account of their approaching, this encouraged the Protestants in so many places to betake themselves to Castles and strong Holds, thinking, that if they could defend themselves against Flying Parties and the Rabble, the *Irish* Army would be so employed by the Forces from *England*, that there could be no formal Sieges laid against them; and they should secure themselves, with their Horses and Arms, till they might find an opportunity of joyning the *English* Forces: But when these poor Men found their mistake, they were forced to surrender, most of them on tolerable conditions, had they been performed; but the *Irish*, instead of observing the conditions they had promised them, sent them to Goal; try them for High Treason; and condemn them; executing some, and keeping great Numbers in miserable Captivity and Slavery to this Day; which is so well known in *England*, that I shall say no more of it: And in other Places where the poor Protestants neither did, nor could hold out, but gave the Soldiers that came to disarm them free admittance, these Orders (you need

not doubt) were effectually executed; for not only all the Arms that could be found were taken away, but almost every thing, in many Places, that was made of Iron, to the very Spits, Grates, nay the Keys and Locks of Doors, as useful to the King! Shammy Waste-Coats and Breeches were called Buff, and taken away as Armour; nay, every thing they could fetch away, and no remedy at all for the Sufferers. Under the notion of serviceable Horses, all Plow and Work-Horses were comprehended; if it were urged to them, that the Horses they took were not fit for the King's service, and consequently not comprehended in their Orders from the Government, 'twas answered, that though they were not fit for Troopers or Dragoons, yet that they would serve for Baggage-Horses; and I have myself known many taken away, that when they appraised them, though they never intended to pay for them, were rated some of them at Eighteen Shillings, and some under, and great Numbers at Twenty and Thirty Shillings a Piece; and thus were those poor People exposed in a naked and miserable condition to their Enemies; many of them did indeed conceal their Arms and Ammunition, but they were of no use to them, it being made Penal to have them found, after a certain day, in their Custody or Houses.

About this time Colonel *Hamilton* is sent with an Army against the North of *Ireland*; and though it was more early in the Year than the Assizes were usually held, the Judges are sent down into the Countries, the pretence was, that they might quiet the Country, by punishing those Thieves and Robbers that plundered the Protestants, but the design was, partly, that they might condemn those poor Protestants that had taken up Arms, or been found in those Houses that stood out, and afterwards submitted; and partly that they might beg for the Army; for the three Months being ended with many of the Captains, during which they were to maintain their Men at their own expense, and little or no Money being in the Exchequer, the Judges read a Letter in every County, directed from the Government, to the Principal Gentlemen, to the Minister and Popish Priest of every Parish, requiring them to assemble the Parishoners of each Parish, and to persuade them to subscribe to the utmost of their ability for the maintainance of his Majesty's Forces; assuring them, that the King himself would soon be at the Head of them, with such Assistance from *France*, as should make them a puissant Army; directing farther, that such as could not give their Subscriptions in Money, should give Mealy Malt, Beef, Cheese, Butter, Herrings, or any other Provisions; or else that they should send in Leather, Brogues, Stockings, Wool, Cloth, Linen or Woollen, or any other Commodity the Country afforded: This was a grievous and heavy oppression to the poor

poor Protestants, who though they had but very little left them by the Rabble, yet must contribute largely upon this occasion, as well Withdraw to the Enemies of K. James.

Much about this time also, the Lord *Galway* was sent with a Party of Men North West, to guard the passages between the North of *Ireland*, and those parts of *Linster* and *Connacht*, that lay adjoining to *Ulster* that way, lest the Protestants of several Counties of both those Provinces, whose passages lay there, should escape to the North. This Lord, to shew himself (what he really is) the most malicious and bloody Irish Man in that Kingdom, was the first that drew Blood, his Men having taken two Gentlemen who had been under Collonel *Sanderford* one *Dixy*, and one *Charlton*, he caused them without more ado to be hanged at a Sign-post in *Belvoir*; when they were taken down, their Heads were cut off, and kick'd about the Streets as Foot-balls. From hence the Lord *Galway* moved farther into the North, and finding at *Omagh* two Men, the Father and the Son, who were said to be in Arms; (though he found them in no such posture,) he caused the Son first to hang his Father, and carry his Head through the Streets on a Pole, crying, This is the Head of a Traitor; and when this was done, the young Man himself was executed: In this the Lord *Galway* imitated his Predecessors in Forty One, thinking perhaps to vindicate his Mother's Honour, and make her more honest than she declared her self, when she would have disinherited him, as the Lord *Tyrconnel's* Son, and not true Heir to the Family. In this Expedition also, some of his Dragoons meeting with a Clergy Man's Wife, whose Husband had fled Northward with the Protestants, they first ravished her, and when several of them had lain with her, they ripp'd up her Belly, and exposed her with a dead Man upon her, in a posture not fit to be named; this indeed I do not positively assert as a Truth (though I heard it very confidently affirmed,) because I have no certain Authority for it; but I have been very credibly informed of another thing of this kind, in the County of *Tipperary*. An English Gentleman seeing some Dragoons march towards his House; late in the Evening, lock'd up his Doors, as if his Family were disposing themselves for Bed; but sixteen of the Dragoons coming up to the House, and not finding easy entrance, forced open the doors, called him Traitor, for shutting up his House against the King's Forces, and when they had pillaged him of all things of value that they could find in the House, they then forced his Daughter, and only Child, before his Face; all the sixteen lay with her, and three of them (as is affirmed by his Family) after she was actually dead, lay with her.

While Things were in this posture, K. James is expected by the Irish, and almost every Post a false Alarm of his being landed; Bonfires made, and Guns discharged in the several Garrisons; and that so often, that not only the Protestants, but many of the Papists thought it to be a Sham; and that the Lord Deputy did all this while but endeavour to make honourable Conditions with *England*; and to speak Truth, not only the Protestants, but many of the *Irish* Gentry, would have been better satisfied if it had been so, than to run the hazard of a War against *England*. And when they had the certain Account of his landing at *Kinsale* on the 12th of *March*, their Bonfires (in my Opinion) burnt more faintly, and one might discern much more of Concern in their Countenances, than when they thought they only acted a Sham, to discourage the Protestants: For now they saw, that they must be Enemies to *England*, and hazard both their Lives and Estates in a Cause, which they feared might in the end prove ruinous to them. The Protestants were so indifferent, whether they should enjoy his Company in *Ireland*, that they would not (till they had plain Demonstration) believe that he was landed; nay, for a Fortnight after he landed, it was in many Places looked on as a mere Fiction. But however, that we did not much covet so unusual a thing, as a King in *Ireland*, nor could we imagine that he had any great Kindness for us; yet we believed that, in Policy, he would smother his Resentments, speak us fair, and make our Condition more easie, at least for the present; for we know that the *Irish* depended upon many Friends, which (they boasted) they had in *Scotland* and *England*.

But K. James soon let the World know, he was not so fond as to rely upon any such thing, but had other dependences: For soon after he landed, he came to the City of *Cork*, where he was received by the Mayor and Corporation in their Formalities: The Recorder made a Speech to him, and after a long Panegyrick on the *Irish* Loyalty and Valour, he told him, that now he hoped his Majesty was convinced of their Fidelity, and that they were better Subjects than the Church of *England* Men, who had now failed him. To this part of the Recorders Speech, he graciously answered, That he acknowledged all that the Recorder said in Favour of the *Irish* to be true; and that he hoped by their Forces, and the Assistance he should receive from his Brother of *France*, to be restored to his Throne, in spite of those Slaves of the Church of *England*. At this very time, the Judges happened to hold the Assizes at *Cork*; where one *Brown*, a Gentleman of about five hundred pound a year, who had been concerned with Sir *Thomas Sashwell*, but deserted him before he left *Manister*, and was made Prisoner, put himself on his Trial, and petitioned K. James, thinking that he would begin with an



act of Mercy; and give him his Life; but on the contrary, he left him to the Law, which you may be sure did condemn him, and accordingly he was hanged and quartered.

From hence *K. James* soon took his Journey to *Dublin*, where it was made no secret, by what means he intended to be re-established in *England*; for it was the publick Discourses in all Coffee-houses about the Town, that the King should have so powerful an Army of *French* and *Irish*, and *Scotch* Roman Catholicks, as should force the *English* into Obedience, I have seen a printed Letter, since I came into *England*, giving an Account of some Discourse of the Lord *Brienne* to Mr. *Foley* to this purpose; That the King did not think of returning to *England*, by the means of any Protestant Friends, but by a *French* Power: This I believe to be true; for I heard that same Lord tell one Mr. *Harding* in a Coffee-house the same thing; adding, that the consequence of that would be, That when the King came to his Throne, he might rule as he thought fit. He farther told the same Mr. *Harding*, That the Protestants of *England* might feed themselves with what hopes they pleased, but they should soon find, that the King would neither care, nor respect them. About the same time I heard a more considerable Man than the Lord *Brienne* say, That the King had a long time cursed the damnd Church of *England*, (as he called it;) but that he could do no good with them, that is, in plain *English*, that they would not join with him in their own Destruction. But now, continued this Gentleman, I hope the King will do his Business without them, and so find an opportunity of shaking them quite off. These I have some Reason to believe were the King's own Expressions; this Gentleman seemed to speak them in disorder, and with some Concernment. Another Gentleman of a considerable Estate, and of no mean Station in the Army, being by, made Answer, That they were made to believe by the Lord *Tyrconnell*, that the Business it to be done by the King's *Scotch* and *English* Friends; and that he did not believe *England* was to be subdued by a *French* Power; but it would rather be a means to lose their Friends. Hereon to this the former replied, that it was true indeed, and that he knew no Business that *French* Men that came with the King had there. He continued, that since the King was come in Person, they must go against the *North* and fight, that they should gain some Experience under so many good Generals, meaning the *French* Men; but says he, after a small pause, I believe *Schomberg* is as good a General as any of them; and that he they discoursed with Dissatisfaction concerning the Disposition of Officers and Imployment in the Army. But they would not have spoken their Minds so freely before me; but that they thought I understood not the

*Irish Tongue*, in which they discoursed; for when they talked in *English*, their Discourse was of being in the midst of *England* by *Midsummer-day*, with their Regiments, making *England* the Seat of War; preferring their own Country, Estates, and Tenants, and living on the Churls, as they termed the *English*, which they said were a rich, and a giddy unconstant People, not to be satisfied with any kind of Government; and would (they doubted not) be soon divided, and broken among themselves, so that they did not fear carrying their Point.

These very Men seemed to be of Opinion, that the King ought to publish an Indulgence to the Protestants that had offended, and to take some special care to suppress the Rabble that plundered the Country; but though he did, at the Instance (I presume) of some of the *Irish* Nobility of the Council, issue Proclamations to that purpose, yet I heard it credibly reported in *Dublin*, that he had sent Pardons to two of those three notorious Plunderers, that had regimented their Villains, together with Commissions, according to the several Stations they had placed themselves in, to be of his Standing Army, commanding them that whatever they had unconsumed of the Goods they had taken from the Protestants, should be put into the Hands of the High Sheriffs of the respective Counties, for the King's use. Some few Protestants that had Protections for armed Men continued to them by the special Favour of the Lord *Tyrconnel*, after the general disarming, had some of them their Protections superceded, others reduced to so small a Number, that they became useless to them, so that the Rabble might use them as they pleased.

He had not been long in *Dublin* when the Wife of one *Maxwel*, who was condemned at *Mariborough* in the Queen's County, for betaking himself, among many others, to a strong House, for the security of their Lives, came to his Majesty with a Petition in behalf of her Husband, who has picked out of a great many to be executed, as a dangerous Person; that is, the bloody Lord *Galmoy*, and one *Morris* of that County, bore him a Spleen, and would not suffer him to be reprieved, as the rest of his Company were, except two more, who run the same fate with him; this poor Woman had, by her pious entreaties, persuaded the High Sheriff of the County, to give her Husband fifteen days time, after the day appointed for his Execution, that she might see what she could do with the King for her Husbands preservation; the Sheriff had not only so much compassion on this poor Gentleman, as to grant him these days at his own Perill, but went with the poor Woman to *Dublin*, thinking that the King might be persuaded, being just come to the City, to do one Act of Grace; the Sheriff procured her admittance to the King's

King's Presence; where she appeared in as lamentable a Condition as possibly she could, that she might move him to some Compassion, and that he might pardon, or at least relieve the poor Man for some time: She appeared with four or five small Children hanging about her, all in Tears, and deliver'd her Petition; praying His Majesty to have pity on her, in such Terms, as moved the very *Irish* Nobility that were present to second her Petition, and might have moved the hardest Heart in the World. But the Answer she had from King *James* was, *Woman, your Husband shall die*. Upon this, the High Sheriff being by, was severely reprov'd for not executing the said *Maxwel* according to his Warrant; menaced, that if the Prisoner escaped, he should die for him; and commanded away immediately to execute him; which was done accordingly.

But King *James's* Aversion to the Protestants did not only appear in some particular Instances, but he shew'd it against them all in general: He had but two considerable Men in the Army who were Protestants, Sir *Thomas Newcomen*, and Colonel *Ruffel*; these he immediately disbanded, though he could object nothing against them, but their Religion. He declared to Colonel *Sarsfield*, when he intreated His Majesty to grant Commissions to two of his Relations, who were Protestants, and offered to be bound for their Fidelity, that he would trust no Protestant; and was heard to say, as he came out of his Chapel, and some of his Courtiers happen'd to discourse concerning the Protestants, that a Protestant stunk in his Nostrils. This I had from an honest Gentleman, who went out of Curiosity to see the King at Mass, and heard him speak these Words; and if there were a necessity for it, would make Faith of it: I have heard many other things of this kind, but I shall not run the hazard of doing so great a Man the least Injustice.

It may be easily imagined how great an Encouragement this kind of Behaviour in a Prince was to the rude Soldiers, to treat the poor Protestants, not only in the Country, but in the very City of *Dublin*, under the Nose of the Government, in a barbarous manner: It was but an ordinary thing to take away the very Meat that the poor People had provided for their Families, without Thanks, or Payment; nor could a Protestant be out of his House (after Sun-set especially) without danger of his Life. One *Power*, who had indeed been bred a Protestant, but turn'd Papist in the late King *James's* Reign, coming to his Door, in *Dublin*, a little after Night-fall, was set on by two Soldiers, who demanded his Money, and called him Heretick Dog; he thought to have excus'd himself, and made some Opposition; but was shot through the Body with a Pistol, and fell dead, as well as unpitied, at his own Door.

Much about the same time, a Gentleman, walking in a Bowling-Green in the same City, was stabb'd by some Soldiers. And a poor Tapster, who serv'd in an Ale house on the Wood Key, standing one Evening on the Key, over the River, was, by some Dragoons (without any Provocation) thrown over into the Water, and drowned, and no more than a Jest made of it, no notice at all taken of the Offenders. There were, undoubtedly, many more Instances of this kind, in that miserable Kingdom, than I either knew when I was there, or have heard of since I came over: And I dare believe, that they who are come lately from thence, can give an Account of others, who were dealt with after the same manner they serv'd the Bishop of *Waterford*, and his Servants.

Now if any Man should ask me, how it comes to pass, since the King and Government did so easily connive at things of this nature, and all the *Irish* bear so implacable an Hatred to the *English*, that they did not attempt a general Massacre all the time; before the *English* Army went over; who, I hope, will be so terrible to them, that they will not attempt any such thing? To this I can only say, that I know the *Irish* to be Men of so much Cruelty, and Forwardness to shed Blood, when they have an Advantage

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(And, to be sure, it is not lessen'd by their being managed by *French-Men*.) that I must attribute the Preservation of the poor Protestants, then and now in their power, to Providence only: That God that binds up the Devils, hath also; and doth restrain those Blood-Hounds from devouring those poor helpless Men, at whom they stood grinning, and wanted only to be let loose, and hollowed at them.

But it will appear (I think) beyond Contradiction, how the Protestants are to be treated if King *James* should carry his Point, if we consider that the *Act of Settlement* in that Kingdom is, to all intents and purposes, broken by the King and Parliament. At this one Blow they have not only ruined all the Protestants of that Kingdom, but all the *Irish* that depended on the *English* Interest: They have restored all their Estates to the bloody Rebels, who had forfeited them in the Rebellion of 1641; as if their Actions were approved, and there were some farther Employment for them.

This, to considerate Men, might look like Infatuation, or downright Stupidity; but it need not seem so strange, if we consider that it was resolved upon in *France*, (from whence *Ireland*, certainly, takes all its Measures,) before King *James* came into *Ireland*. That the Breach of this Act was resolved on in *France*, I have seen under the Hand of an *English* Papist, who was then in *France*, and went from thence to *Ireland*, in hopes of securing an Interest he had there; though, as he writes to his Friend in *England*, he could neither do that, nor have any Satisfaction for it, other than the general Promise of Satisfaction, which is to be made to all Popish Purchasers: This Gentleman writes, that he knew not where the Fund was; but they in *Ireland* say, that this Satisfaction is to be made out of the Rebels Estates in *England*, when it shall be re-gained. By the Rebels, they mean those Noblemen and Gentlemen who stood up for the Protestant Religion, and their Estates and Liberties, and sided with our present King when he came into *England*; nay, I may add, all such as have since been active and forward in serving their Majesties, King *William* and *Queen Mary*.

It is scarcely imaginable, what Miseries this Breach of the Settlement has already, in all probability, and doth still occasion to the poor Protestants who are now in those Provinces that are now under the *Irish*. The Gentry are, for the most part, turned out of their Houses and Estates; and so, probably, are their Tenants that were any way considerable; and they had before been plunder'd of their personal Estates; So that now they are not only Beggars, and that where there are none but their Fellow-Sufferers to pity them, but have not whereupon to lay their Heads; exposed (it is to be very much feared) as well to Cold, and Want, and Hunger, as to the Malice of their blood-thirsty and barbarous Enemies: They were, indeed, some Months ago, in an ill Condition; they lay down in Fear, and arose in Sorrow; and, like those whom the Prophet mentions, when it was Day, wished for Night; and when Night was come, longed for the Day-light again: But now we hear, that they are in a worse Condition than the Slaves in *Argiers*, or *Salley*. From *Limerick* there is a very late Account, that there were above Eight Hundred of the principal of the Protestants of that City, and the Country adjacent, in the common Gaol; and that they were tortured, to confess their Plate or Money: The *Irish* placed them on bare Horse Backs, tied Weights to their Legs, blindfolded them, and so led them, backward and forward, through the Streets, till they extorted what they knew from them: And, no doubt, could we but hear from other Parts of the Kingdom, we should have many Accounts of this Kind.



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# MINI

**F I N I S**

